1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

121 In collecting the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyze as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organisation at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of coöperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṭ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṭ Sáddĕn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, and Aiṭ Mjilḏ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ġarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣăra and Beni Ăḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Fraj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to 121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other 124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

is remarkable ; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise.

In my study of the various rites I have not been content

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rif.

with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

[2] is probably that the real origin of the rite has been partly or wholly forgotten, and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it sprung. It is well known that rites are very apt to survive the ideas in which they have originated. This, however, should not make the field-ethnologist less eager to find out the present meaning attached to the facts he records; for whether or no it be the original meaning, it gives us in any case some insight into the ideas of existing people, and these are by themselves important subjects of inquiry. But I maintain that the aim of the field-ethnologist should not be only to observe and describe. Where the meaning of a custom is obscure or lost, his general knowledge of the native mind and its ways of thinking and feeling ought to enable him to make valuable conjectures. I thoroughly disagree with the principle which I once heard expressed by the reader of a paper on some savage tribes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, that the field-ethnologist should only aim at collecting facts and leave it to the ethnologists at home to explain them. But he must, of course, take the utmost care to avoid mixing up his own interpretations of facts with the observed facts themselves. This is a rule which I have strictly followed. While all explanations given without any qualification are statements expressly made by my native informants, or are directly implied in their statements, those suggested by myself are invariably, in some way or other, marked as my own interpretations.

The difficulties in finding the ultimate psychological origins of rites are frequently increased by the obscurity of their historical origins. A custom may spring up spontaneously among a certain people or tribe, or it may be imported from some other people or community; and to be complete, the study of it must be concerned not only with its intrinsic meaning but also with the question whether it has a native origin or not, and, in the latter case, from where it has been introduced. This study of its history is often beset with difficulties, which indeed may be unsurmountable. It requires a profound knowledge not only of the customs of the ethnic group which is the subject of the investigation but of

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

those of other people with whom it has come in contact; and even with such a knowledge it may in many cases be impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, in circumstances which seem to exclude all possibility of a common origin, we have to take account of the fact that such customs may also have grown up among peoples who are of the same stock or have come

FIG. 6.—Berbers from the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi.

into contact with one another. Indeed, the more similar two peoples are, the greater is the probability that new details in their culture may also resemble each other; from seeds of the same kind very similar plants spring up. I have been very conscious of these difficulties in my attempt to trace the historical origin of rites and beliefs recorded in the present work. In many cases it has been quite easy to accomplish, but in others it has only resulted in more or less plausible conjectures; and frequently I have been obliged to abstain from any such attempt, because I have found it a hopeless task.

The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of strength.

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

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114

"Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far [127] too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized transliterations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication, as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and because of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
121 128 114 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6]. His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some attention in Section II.

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113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, passim.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 As noted in my preliminary study (1958), the only article which has ever been published about Blanco is one by Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa[8]. It is devoted largely to Blanco's achievements during the late 1930s, when he was the regional administrator of the Territory of the Rif, both as an architect of administrative policy and as an architect per se, as well as touching briefly upon his artistic abilities. Of basic biographical information, as well as providing any assessment of Blanco as a military ethnologist and as a student of
● 121 Berber social life, however, it says nothing at all. My 1958 article and this present introduction will attempt to fill in these lacunae; and we begin with Section I, Blanco's biography.

Section I: Biographical Data[9]

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga was born on March 15, 1892, in Orduña, in the north Spanish province of Vizcaya, just west of the Basque country, and about 45 km. south of Bilbao. On August 30, 1910, he entered the Spanish Military Academy in Toledo where, on June 24, 1913, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, joining the 30th Regiment for garrison duty in Burgos. The following year he was sent to Morocco for the first time with the 6th Battalion of Figueras for duty in Larache, and the next two years saw him taking part in military

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(113) 8--Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa, "Una Teoría de Arquitectura Politica y un Interventor Excepcional: El Coronel Don Emilio Blanco Izaga", in Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1950-1951, Tetuan: Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 129-150.

9--This section is taken in extenso from Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 174-180. I am particularly indebted to Col. Blanco's son, Dr. Don Agustín Blanco Moro, of Madrid, and to Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, of Jérez de la Frontera, who succeeded Blanco as Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan, for supplying me with the essential facts of Blanco's life.

121 In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. Bidonville or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with cité ouvrière sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the qabila or taqbilt, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural commmes" has been designed to unseat it. Changes in forms of social structure tend [114] to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. Com- 128 ments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'umen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such genealogies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

PART II--THE RIFIAN QANUNS

Don EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA, Major of Infantry and Regional Administrator of the Rif:

EL RIF (2a. PARTE) (THE RIF-2nd PART)

LA LEY RIFEÑA (RIFIAN LAW)

II--LOS CANONES RIFEÑOS COMMENTADOS (II--THE RIFIAN QĀNŪNS, WITH COMMENTS)

Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos:
Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas:
Centro de Estudios Marroquíes

(Spanish High Commission in Morocco:
Delegation of Native Affairs:
Center of Moroccan Studies)

Imprenta IMPERIO, Ceuta 1939

Administrators:

From the shipwreck of official prose, try to save through publication whatever your tireless service and individual taste permits you to investigate and to serve toward a more exact knowledge of the country; for the best school is the real one; the only doctrine, the truth; and the most effective method, one's own effort.

The fortunate creation of the Center of Moroccan Studies offers you the means.

Rifians: 121

In the documents which follow, I try to reflect aspects of the Rif

121 of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

114 In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

124 My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

671 1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

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616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
• 121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 433 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. [554] The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
121 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
114 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the
433 study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part
121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

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642 system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

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[126] The data upon which this study is based were collected from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

121 While few would disagree that systems of economics are different, the notion that economies might be propelled by sets of dynamics radically different from those that developed in Western economy is much less accepted. That this should be the case rests to a large degree on the development of economics as a science. Those people who accepted the calling to become economists were concerned with understanding and explaining the economic systems of which they were the most aware. Economic theory became synonymous with an analysis of industrial economies. Yet the majority of the human populace lived in societies that had been only marginally affected by the industrial revolution and there even were social enclaves which were still untouched by it. Only in recent years have a growing number of economists, anthropologists, and sociologists sought to understand the economic systems of these nonindustrial societies. The present work, as a description and analysis of how wealth is distributed in one such society, is intended to make a modest contribution to this understanding.

121 105 The society which we shall examine is that of the Berbers in the Central Rif of Morocco. The empire of Morocco itself has a lengthy history as a political unit. However, various mountain

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
[571] no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

121 105 571 602 433 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation of these activities and the social relationships that they help establish.

121 128 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

121 433 571 602 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the conditions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was socially, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political conditions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

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6: Joseph, E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
183 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
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6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

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437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

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556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

121 [553] [585] [844] [852] [764] the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

844 The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives [602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon [782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. [556] [574] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 574 602 [114] Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during 553 574 602 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to 431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
411 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 5

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: STATUS AND PRESTIGE

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The use of wealth in order to maintain or increase prestige is a feature which may have universal applicability to economic action. However, the outward manifestation of such a use of wealth varies from society to society. In industrial society there is a motivation for using wealth based on prestige, but because of the heterogeneous character of its composition, its different ethnic strains, different religions, different social classes, each sub-social unit has its own code and for the society at large there are no well-fixed rules. In the small-scale non-industrial society with its greater homogeneity, the code tends to be fixed and universal for the society. Thus one has the rather formal Kula ring with its minimization of options, the ritualized display and consumption of goods by Northwest Coast Indians, or the measuring of all social ties by cattle among the Nuer.

The Berbers of the Rif display a pattern which is between the flexible standards of prestige evaluation encountered in industrial society and the rigid standards of many traditional societies. The absence of rigidity does not imply that there is not a code of behavior involved in status but merely that the code is flexible.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabīla*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 EVIDENCE of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

195 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Moroccan mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

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195 113 311 [1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

[2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants* . . . , IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsensis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Economie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] Cf. George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 toward the eastern plains, and the tribesmen of Garet and Gal'aya stake their lives on the unpredictable rains. The seasonal emigration from these districts results from the serious imbalance between population and reliable food supply.

In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the natural vegetation has been substantially modified. The principal causes of disturbance have been cutting, burning, and browsing, which have changed northern Morocco from a land of forests to a land of scrub. Large areas now covered with palmetto or thorn scrub once supported forests of oleaster, oak, cedar, and thuya. At present the distribution of forests is approximately the obverse of the distribution of men and livestock. Most of the remaining cedar forests are located above the limits of cultivation, and the surviving stands of holly oak occur in karstic highlands rising above cultivated plains. In the western lowlands most of the native plant cover has been destroyed. Sacred groves of oleaster give some indication of primordial or potential conditions, but only palmetto and a few other shrubs of the secondary growth survive. The record of succession is more complete in the Jbalan hills, and all stages in the retrogression are present in the Sanhajan highlands. The natural vegetation of the eastern plains, like that of the Atlantic littoral, has been almost completely destroyed, but the repeated expansion and contraction of the area of cultivated land permits an extensive development of secondary scrub.

The processes that have produced these changes can be traced into prehistory. Cereals were cultivated and goats were raised before the Phoenicians arrived. Since clearing is, and probably was, accomplished by burning, the limitations of Stone Age technology probably did not inhibit some modifications of vegetation and soil. It is hazardous to generalize about variations in the intensity of disturbance, for there is no way to determine long-term trends in the growth of human and animal populations. Nevertheless, some parts of the historical record are sufficiently striking to command attention—for example, the indication that shipbuilding was once an important industry on the Mediterranean coast, and that gates of cedar used to stand in city walls.

● 121 105 Understanding in cultural geography is attained through analysis of processes initiated and carried forward by man. In this work an attempt has been made to account for the distribution of culture traits and the effects of man's activities on the land. In other words, this study has been concerned with patterns and imprints of culture. The evidence examined suggests that the landscape of northern Morocco has long been affected by two trends: a blurring of cultural patterns, and a deepening and extension of cultural imprints. It is reasonable to suppose that both trends will persist. Political centralization will encourage acculturation, and further increase in population will accelerate modification of the land.

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/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

• 121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

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121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, 361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, 621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits 632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the [619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we 613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according [171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North